

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

SAJ-01 IO-11 ACDA-05 /077 W

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R 101035Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6580

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 0725

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT RO

SUBJECT: CEAUSESCU ZIG-ZAGS

1. SUMMARY. CEAUSESCU'S HANDLING OF FEB 4-6 CONGRESS OF COUNTY SECRETARIES AND MAYORS, FIRST IN GOR HISTORY, WAS TAILORED TO JUSTIFY HIS POLICIES AND STIFFEN ELAN OF ASSEMBLED PROVINCIAL ELITE. UNRELENTING INTERNALLY, CEAUSESCU TROTTED OUT "DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT" APPARENTLY TO UNDERLINE RCP ORTHODOXY FOR BENEFIT OF BOTH KREMLIN AND GOR APPARATUS, THUS ZAGGING FROM HIS DEC 18 ZIG SALUTING WESTERN CP'S QUEST FOR "NEW FORMS" OF PASSAGE TO SOCIALISM. HE STILL REVISIONISTICALLY CALLED FOR WIDEST PARTICIPATION OF CP'S IN NON-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS INTERNATIONALLY, HOWEVER; PROBLEM WAS TO PATCH CRACKS IN

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"DIALECTICAL UNITY" OF HIS FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC STRATEGIES. HE

WAS DEFENSIVE ABOUT ECONOMIC RESULTS AND SEEMED AWARE OF BUT NOT SYMPATHETIC WITH DOUBTS IN APPARATUS AND PUBLIC ABOUT HOW THINGS ARE GOING. END SUMMARY

2. ALTHOUGH CONCEPT HAD BEEN IGNORED BY RCP FOR YEARS, CEAUSESCU TOOK OCCASION (COINCIDENT WITH FRENCH CP CONGRESS) TO DEFEND "REVOLUTIONARY DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT" AS NECESSARY FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM, QUOTING MARX'S GOTHA PROGRAM CRITIQUE. THIS HE HEDGED, HOWEVER, BY ACCENT ON SOCIALIST LEGALITY, REJECTION OF "ABUSES AND DISTORTIONS" (STALINISM), APPLICABILITY NARROWED TO ACTIVE, OBSTINATE OPPONENTS, AND BROAD ROMANIAN-STYLE DEFINITION OF PROLETARIAT. AS MORE ORDINARY POST-HELSINKI PROPHYLAXIS, HE DWELT ON DEFENSE OF "UNIFIED PLANNED LEADERSHIP" AND OF "REAL" (SOCIALIST) DEMOCRACY (VERSUS BOURGEOIS TYPE), IN KEEPING WITH RCP PROGRAM.

3. WE SUSPECT THAT CEAUSESCU'S DEC 18 SALUTE TO WESTERN CP'S "NEW FORMS" FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM PROVED A BIT MUCH FOR MOSCOW, PROVOKED QUESTIONS IN RCP APPARATUS, AND IN FACT IMPLIED MORE THAN CEAUSESCU MEANT. THIS TIME CEAUSESCU STUCK TO SUPPORTING WIDEST COLLABORATION BETWEEN CP'S AND NON-COMMUNIST FORCES, CRITICIZING THOSE WHO RESIST CP PARTICIPATION IN WESTERN GOVERNMENTS (INCLUDING BY IMPLICATION SOVIETS AS WELL AS USG AND SOME SOCIAL DEMOCRATS). HOWEVER, CURRENT GOR-VERSION OF "PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP" PARTED COMPANY WITH FRENCH CP REVISIONISM, VENTED CEAUSESCU'S BELIEF THAT ONLY COERCION CAN WARD OFF CHILEAN-STYLE REACTION TO POPULAR FRONTS, REASSURED RCP CADRES ABOUT OWN REGIME'S POST-WAR LEGITIMACY AND THEORETICAL BASIS OF CEAUSESCU'S CONTROL, JUSTIFIED THEREBY INCREASED STATE ROLE DAMPENED RISE OF ANY UNDUE HOPES THAT REGIME MIGHT EASE UP INTERNALLY, AND LENT NOTE OF ORTHODOXY AT MOMENT OF WARSAW PACT IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION. IF CEAUSESCU WAS PREACHING TO FRENCH CP, RCP GREETING TO PCF CONGRESS IGNORED ISSUE, IN LINE WITH RCP'S NON-INTERFERENCE RULE VIS-A-VIS OTHER PARTIES.

5. ON ECONOMIC FRONT, CEAUSESCU SEEMED SOMEWHAT EDGY IN DEFENDING RESULTS OF 1971-75 PLAN, WHICH HE CLAIMED REFUTED "SLANDERING PROPAGANDA CENTERS" (READ RFE), "PESSIMISM AND MISTRUST MANIFESTED BY SOME" (MAURER TECHNOCRATS AND OTHER SKEPTICS), AND THOSE WHO

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HAD SEEN ROMANIA ONLY AS AGRICULTURAL OR NEGLECTED "SOME BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY" (MEANING PRIMARILY SOVIETS). IGNORING FAILURE OF MINISTRIES OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE TO FULFILL THEIR FIVE-YEAR PLAN (FYP) GOALS AND OF ALL BUT FOUR COUNTIES TO REALIZE HIS 1972 CALL FOR 4 1/2 YEAR ADVANCE FULFILLMENT (10 COUNTIES EVEN FAILED TO FULFILL FYP WITHIN NORMAL TIME FRAME), CEAUSESCU BLAMED SETBACKS ON FLOODS, DROUGHT, CAPITALIST RECESSION (WHICH, AS MUCH

AS ANY EE REGIME, GOR ADMITS AFFECTS SOCIALIST ECONOMIES), AND ORGANIZATIONAL LACKS. ANALYSIS OF FYP FULFILLMENT FOLLOWS SEPTEL.

6. HE REIDENTIFIED HIMSELF WITH THE 10 BILLION LEI INDUSTRIAL-OUTPUT TARGET FOR ALL COUNTIES WHICH, ACCORDING TO ONE RCP POLEXCO MEMBER, HAD BEEN CRITICIZED AS UNREALISTIC AND WAS UNDER MODIFICATION (A-166 OF OCT 3, 1975). GREATEST APPLAUSE CAME FOR HIS ATTACK ON PRACTICE OF SUNDAY AND OVERTIME WORK WHICH HE LAID TO POOR MANAGEMENT; HE VAGUELY HELD OUT HOPE FOR REDUCED WORK-WEEK AFTER PARTY CONFERENCE ON TOPIC NEXT YEAR. PRESSURE ON BUREAUCRACY RESUMED WITH CALL TO SHIFT MORE "FUNCTIONARIES" INTO PRODUCTION. TO MEET WHAT LOOKED LIKE CRITICISM OF "CENTER" FROM THE PROVINCES HE ADVOCATED A YEARLY NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PLAN BEFORE GNA SESSIONS AND GAVE SEVERAL OF MORE INDEPENDENT MINDED FIRST SECRETARIES (TROFIN, ILIESCU, DRAGAN) A CHANCE TO SPEAK.

7. FOREIGN POLICY. SUPPLEMENTING HEAVY GOR MEDIA SENDOFF TO ATHENS BALKAN CONFERENCE, CEAUSESCU URGED CLOSER COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC, S AND T, CULTURAL AND "OTHER" (READ POLITICAL) DOMAINS AND AN EVENTUAL DENUCLEARIZED PEACE ZONE. ON MIDDLE EAST, CEAUSESCU HIT "RIGID POSITION" OF ISRAEL AND U.S. MISUSE OF VETO, MANIFESTING GOR WORRY OVER USG OUTCOME CONVEYED PRIVATELY BY FONMIN MACOVESCU (BUCHAREST 0537).

8. RFE. CEAUSESCU MADE ONLY ONE PASSING REFERENCE TO "CENTERS" (PARA 5 ABOVE), BUT IN HIS CONGRESS SPEECH HATCHETMAN E. BARBU DENOUNCED "FOREIGN MICROPHONES" AT LENGTH, CONTINUING ANTI-RFE CAMPAIGN. SCINTEIA FEB 7 CARRIED FIRST COVERAGE FROM PRAGUE OF FORMER RFE EMPLOYEE'S ACCUSATIONS.

9. COMMENT. SOURCES HERE SO FAR TEND TO VIEW CEAUSESCU'S  
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IDEOLOGICAL TACK (TOUGHEST HE HAD MADE IN MANY MONTHS) AS "POLITICSZ NOT "POLICY" KEYED BOTH TO HIS SPECIAL INTERNAL AND KREMLIN AUDIENCES. RCP NEEDS FANCY STEPPING AMONG COMPETING NEEDS: TO STICK WITH INDEPENDENT CP'S INTRAMURALLY, MOLIFY SOVIETS WHERE POSSIBLE, FEND OFF DEMOCRATIC CONTAMINATION AND BUTTRESS BASIS OF INTERNAL CONTROL. WHILE SOURCES INSIST RCP HAS NOT MODIFIED ITS ESSENTIAL OPPOSITION TO IDEOLOGICAL COORDINATION WITHIN BLOC, CEAUSESCU MAY CHIME IN WHEN GOR PURPOSES SEEM SERVED, AS IN ANTI-RFE SALLIES OR RESPONSES TO WESTERN POST-CSCE CRITICISM.

10. NOT UNTYPICALLY, GOR'S IMPLICITLY ANTI-SOVIET NATIONALIST PROPAGANDA CONTINUES AT HIGH LEVEL WITH RECENT PUBLICATION OF INCREASINGLY REVANCHIST HISTORICAL MATERIAL ON BESSARABIA, PARTICULARLY MAGAZIN ISTORIC NO. 2/1976.

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## Message Attributes

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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 10 FEB 1976  
**Decapton Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
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**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
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